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SPECIAL REPORT

SAIONJI-HARADA MEMOIRS

PART IX

"NORTH CHINA FIASCO"

(14 Aug - 15 Oct 1935)
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Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 178
(14 August 1935)

National Polity "Clarified"

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

I met the Premier on the 23rd and he said: "The War Minister and I visited the Finance Minister at his private residence this morning. We questioned him on the investments in North China."

"The War Minister and I said: 'We must have some capital put up by the South Manchuria Railway. If not, the company cannot be organized. Moreover, if the Finance Minister should reject this, then, there is fear that the restored control of the Army may be used in reverse. We would like to have your agreement on this matter.'

"Finance Minister TAKAHASHI replied: 'I believe that there is no alternative, so I agree.'

"The opposition of Finance Minister TAKAHASHI was overcome in this way, and the War Minister expressed a strong determination to carry out the matter of control resolutely."

I again met the Premier on the 25th and he said: "The War Minister is determined to conduct matters fairly." I then said to the Premier: "It is your own decision to have transferred this gangrenous sore of the Army which is MAZAKI from the position of Inspector-General of Military Training to that of a Supreme War Councillor. This may be fine, but there are stories to the effect that KOISO and TATEKAWA are to be brought to the headquarters. It goes on further that TATEKAWA is to become the Vice-Chief of the General Staff, and KOISO the Chief of the Air Service Headquarters. This

would only mean that there will be a repetition of this sort of thing two or three years hence.

"The Premier must be careful with the War Minister on these points, or that which has been brought to this righteous path will become distorted again. The intellectuals are very concerned over this and I believe that you should be very cautious about it."

The Premier then said: "The War Minister intends to carry matters out very fairly and he is very determined. Of course, I shall be careful, but I think that matters are generally safe."

Furthermore, I told the Premier: Lt. General TATEKAWA is a cavalryman and is held in great trust by Prince KAN-IN. General SUZUKI, General MINAMI, and the intendant to Prince KAN-IN, INAGAKI, are all cavalrymen and they have all recommended TATEKAWA. I would like to have the following transmitted to Prince KAN-IN in some manner so that there will be a reconsideration of TATEKAWA: 'Of course, there are good points in TATEKAWA. However, at the same time, there is no difference between him and MAZAKI in the matter of eccentricity, although their characteristics are different. Therefore, it will be useless to oust MAZAKI and bring in TATEKAWA.'" I also told the Premier: "I want you to tell the War Minister about this."

I met the Foreign Minister later and he said: "The Ethiopian problem is Italian propaganda, and the English and American press agencies also have used it for purposes of propaganda. The cause of this was that Ambassador SUGIMURA had announced: 'There are economic relations with Ethipia, but there are no special politi-

cal designs. Commercially, Japan is on friendly terms with both Ethipia and Italy; therefore, Japan cannot commit herself.' The Hearst papers have taken out whatever points they needed, and have played this up as a racial problem. Since Great Britain, America, and France are proceeding as allies, they have played the matter up to intimidate Italy by making it seem as if Japan were sympathizing with Ethiopia."

On the morning of the 26th, a meeting of the Supreme War Council was held. This was after General MAZAKI had resigned. At this time General ARAKI had mentioned names and attacked the movements within the Army, saying: "The method used recently was very unfair. The War Minister was not completely informed as to who was concerned in the October, the March or the November Incidents." This fact was learned from Maj. General SATO, Yasunosuke, by KONOYE, and he told me about it when we met at the Tokyo Club.

KONOYE, KIDO and I were saying that it was indeed regrettable that General MATSUI resigned, and I was eager to find out how much truth there was in this story of Maj. General SATO. Therefore I went to the residence of General ABE and learned that it was altogether different. General ABE said: "General ARAKI was merely requesting an impartial attitude in the selection of personnel. He had said in a slanderous manner that the fact that General MAZAKI had resigned from the position of Inspector-General of Military Training was not very pleasant."

Later, I met the Premier and he said: "The Army and the Navy must make a statement on the clarification

of the national polity on the 26th. At the present time, the War Minister is intent upon control within the Army and I believe that it will be unavoidable." Therefore, I had shown the draft statement (of the Army) to Dr. SHIMIZU. At first, he had said that it would be better if the Government revised the draft somewhat. However, he later retracted this statement and said that the situation was very unpleasant.

I went to see the Prince on the 29th and made a report. The Prince said: "KONOYE came over recently and it seemed as if KONOYE desired that the present Cabinet resign at an early date. Just what is the situation?" I replied: "I don't believe that KONOYE has any such ideas --. I believe that you must have misunderstood."

The Prince had also mentioned the opinion of KONOYE concerning UGAKI, the Governor-General of Korea. I asked the Prince as to his own opinion and he said: "It would be very troublesome if my opinion and my indignation were classified together." The Prince continued: "I also told KONOYE: 'I do not wish to express my opinion as to the definite facts concerning the problem of the awarding of the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum to Prince TOKUGAWA.'"

I then said: "According to the Premier, if Prince TOKUGAWA is to receive the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum when honors are distributed for services rendered during the Manchurian Incident, then that would establish him as the person who has rendered the greatest service during that Incident. If such a thing were done, the Army would not acknowledge this,

and it is a very odd story. There would be no such thing as the decorating of a member of the peerage. The Premier had also said that he did not want any indiscriminate bestowal of honors and finally a stop was put to the awarding of the Grand Order of the Chrysanthemum."

I returned and met the Premier on the 31st. The Premier said: "As I have mentioned before, Dr. SHIMIZU came and originally said that the proposal of the Army was all right, but he later said that it was not. I also showed it to the Director of the Bureau of Legislation and to the Home Minister.

"The Justice Minister said: 'It is not good to make a statement from the very outset because the issue will become involved.' If we are to do things as the Army wishes, then the Emperor-Organ theory will be rejected, and the Government must control this matter somehow. I am thinking that there must be some kind of statement according to the requests of the Army and the Navy so that the issue will not become involved."

The Premier also mentioned the transfer of the President of the South Manchuria Railway. The Premier said: "The coming trip of the President of the South Manchuria Railway seems to be an indication of resignation. As a result of a meeting between the War Minister and Commander MINAMI (of the Kwantung Army), it seems as if Commander MINAMI is to recommend MATSUOKA.

"This matter of the President of the South Manchuria Railway came up when the War Minister made a trip recently to Manchukuo. Commander MINAMI had said:

'I desire that HAYASHI, the present President resign.' The War Minister had said: 'What are you going to do about a successor?' MINAMI had said: 'Leave that matter to me.'

"The War Minister had asked whether MINAMI had any ideas as to a successor and MINAMI had replied that he thought that MATSUOKA would be the man. The War Minister consented to this, and it was decided that MATSUOKA would become the President in the event that HAYASHI resigned. This matter was decided between MINAMI and General HAYASHI, the War Minister, who is concurrently the Chairman of the Cabinet's Manchurian Affairs Bureau. This is an unavoidable situation."

The Premier continued: "The War Minister visited Prince KAN-IN at Hakone and was received in audience by His Majesty at Hayama on his return. The reason for this audience was to request the dismissal of Captain MURANAKA and one other person who had put out some reprehensible literature. The War Minister had received the sanction of the Emperor on this matter and had returned."

I again met the Premier on August 1st and said: "I am going to Gotemba tomorrow. Have you anything to ask?" The Premier said: "There is nothing special about the Cabinet, but mention the matter of the Emperor-Organ theory and also the petroleum problem.

"President HAYASHI came over yesterday morning and said that he wished to resign. HAYASHI also requested that the promotion of Vice-President HATTA be halted. Furthermore, the problem of the Army and

the Navy in regard to the budget should be mentioned. I believe that the faction which is trying to put War Minister HAYASHI in a difficult position will check the War Minister's actions. I believe that there will be a great deal of confusion in the Navy also. The Minister of Commerce and Industry has committed himself in the Diet by saying that he would organize a central bank for the commercial and industrial unions. I believe that there will be a great deal said about this problem. I also believe that a great deal will be said concerning the Minister of Communications."

I left the Premier's place and met SHIGEMITSU at the Foreign Ministry. SHIGEMITSU said: "The relationship between MATSUOKA and MINAMI dates back to about the time of the Russo-Japanese War. SEKIYA, Teizaburo was also in on this, and these three are very intimate. I don't think that is is necessary for me to go into the connections between MINAMI and MATSUOKA."

I met the Justice Minister later and he said: "Because of the transfer within the Army, it appears that the suppression of the Emperor-Organ theory has been hastened. There are some who misunderstand the change in posts of the chief advocate of the Emperor-Organ theory, General MAZAKI, from that of Inspector-General of Military Training to that of a Supreme War Councillor, and say that this was done in order to mitigate the suppression of the Emperor-Organ theory. There are also those who have said this strongly and who have instigated the matter of the Emperor-Organ theory.

National Polity "Clarified"

"Within the draft statement of the Army, there are words to the effect that: 'this opposes the basic principles of the national polity.' However, if it is said that this is in opposition to the basic principles of the national polity, then the Government must take absolute control. If it is altered to read: 'the basic principles of the national polity have been misunderstood', then there will be no involvement." The Justice Minister said such puerile things as the foregoing.

I went to see the Prince on the 2nd and he said: "I guess that the matter of MATSUOKA becoming the President of the South Manchuria Railway is unavoidable. However, just what is the relationship between MATSUOKA and KUHARA?" The Prince was very cautious of the connections between YAMAMOTO, the Seiyukai and the Army. Therefore I told the Prince that I would be careful. I also explained to the Prince what the Justice Minister had said in regard to the statement on the Emperor-Organ theory, and the Prince said that the Justice Minister was still acting childishly.

I returned on the 3rd and met Premier OKADA. The Premier said: "Since MATSUOKA has become President of the South Manchuria Railway, the stock has depreciated and everything is unsteady. Therefore, I told MATSUOKA: 'Think first of the trust placed in the South Manchuria Railway. The past years have been exploited by the political parties, but it appears that the Army is doing the exploiting now. Therefore, please be careful on these points as the President of the South Manchuria Railway.'"

I met Chief Cabinet Secretary SHIRANE later and I

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learned that he was from the same town as MATSUOKA and was a relative. SHIRANE said: "KUHARA and MATSUOKA have broken with each other." If MATSUOKA and KUHARA are on good terms with each other, then money will fall into the hands of KUHARA. Such a thing will make it very difficult for the Army, which is attempting to bring about control. I believe that money falling into the hands of the MAZAKI faction or any other faction will only make the Army unsteady and bring about ill results. I also believe that this is the point on which there is anxiety.

I met the Foreign Minister and he said: "The matter of MATSUOKA becoming President of the Manchuria Railway is unavoidable, but first of all, confidence must be regained. I am on good terms with him." I met Home Affairs Minister GOTO later and he said: "If there is a statement, I believe that there will be vigorous questions on it, and this must be guarded against. Once the statement is made, it seems that it is the intention of the War and Navy Ministers to subdue their own departments."

I learned that SHIBUYA, the Commander of the 16th Division, was going to Manchukuo; we had a late supper at the Horyu. SHIBUYA said: "I have spoken with the leaders of the Army, and it seems that the War Minister is strongly determined and I believe that control can be restored."

The Foreign Minister later said: "The British Government has asked the Foreign Office: 'What do you think of sending arms to Ethiopia secretly?' The Foreign Office has replied: 'There is no such problem

in Japan at present. We have not sent any and neither do we intend to. If we are to maintain neutrality, this would be all the more true.'

The Government issued the statement on the clarification of the national polity that day. I went to the official residence of the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau to meet him, but I was told that he was at the official residence of the Imperial Household Minister. Therefore I went to meet the Imperial Household Minister, but when I reached there, the Imperial Household Minister had the statement in his hands and was very much worried.

The Imperial Household Minister said: "If this sort of thing comes out, I don't believe that President ICHIKI of the Privy Council can remain in his position." The Imperial Household Minister was very dissatisfied with the disposition of the matter by the Government.

I reported this matter to KIDO at Zushi and made connections with the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The reason for this was that the Imperial Household Minister was very concerned and had said: "President ICHIKI cannot stand aside, and I believe that he will tender his resignation. I don't believe that the Emperor will give his approval for resignation on these grounds. Then, the Premier will lose his footing. In other words, it will mean that either the Cabinet or ICHIKI must resign, and this is a very grave situation."

I met the Premier on the 5th and he said: "I have conveyed my personal opinions to ICHIKI through OGURI, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau. This has also been conveyed through SHIMIZU, and the Government

has heard ICHIKI's ideas on this subject through SHIMIZU. I (Premier) thought that there would certainly be questions from the press as to what I intended to do about ICHIKI in the event that I made the statement public. Therefore, I had been preparing a reply against this.

"First of all, I said that there is no connection with KANAMORI and thereby evaded the question of ICHIKI." The Premier concluded: "There may be some incidents involving the Seiyukai, or at the general meeting of the Imperial Reservists' Association, but I believe that matters will be safe. I believe that it will be all right to consider a counter-plan at such a time as it may become necessary."

Within this explanation of the Premier in regard to ICHIKI, which was shown to ICHIKI through OGURI, the Chief of the Metropolitan Police Bureau, there was some reference to the matter of 'lectures on the principles of the Constitution'. However, ICHIKI had altered this to read: 'lectures on the principles of the national laws'.

ICHIKI had further stated that he had never delivered any lectures on the position of the Emperor. Therefore it was an established fact that Baron ICHIKI had been shown the contents of the statement. It was said that Baron ICHIKI did not have any intention of resigning.

I had supper with SHIRANE and I told him: "The Imperial Household Minister is very much concerned, and I wish that you would go and see him and inform him as to the progress of matters." Therefore SHIRANE went to

the private residence of the Imperial Household Minister late that night, and it was said that the Imperial Household Minister understood everything and was greatly relieved. The Imperial Household Minister had also said that the statement was satisfactory to the Army and to the Imperial Reservists' Association.

The National Polity Clarification League is clamoring that the vindication of ICHIKI and KANAMORI is inexcusable, and also that it is dissatisfied over the lack of loyalty on the part of the Imperial Household Minister. It also seems as if men of the Seiyukai, such as YAMAMOTO, Teijiro and KUHARA, have said that they are dissatisfied over the lack of loyalty on the part of the chief advisers to the Throne. It appears that there are not very many members of the Seiyukai participating in these movements.

I went to the Foreign Ministry on the 9th and met the Director of the Treaty Bureau. I heard that when Commander UMEZU visited a place called Lwanchwan before his return, the commander of the Peace Preservation Corps there was shot and killed. A gendarme was also injured. The Army desires that the culprit be handed over to them and dealt with according to the Boxer Protocol, just as was done in the case of the murder of a newspaper publisher in North China.

KURIYAMA told me: "It appears as if the problem of Italy and Ethiopia has become a very complicated one in Europe."

I met the Premier on the same day and he said: "I went to Hayama yesterday to report to His Majesty on the abolition of extra territoriality in Manchuria,

but His Majesty was very concerned over the North China Incident. Therefore I told the War and Navy Ministers that there should be liaison between their Ministries, and that reports should be made frequently to the Emperor."

In regard to the matter of the abolition of extra territoriality in Manchuria, and also to the matter of the automobile industry, the War Minister had said at the Cabinet Council: "I believe that matters will be settled by the statement."

I heard from UCHIDA, the Minister of Railways, that Communications Minister TOKONAMI's physician had advised TOKONAMI to take a rest and that he is doing so now.

I went to Gotemba on the 12th and mentioned various matters to the Prince. While I was at Hakone, there was a phone call informing me that Maj. General NAGATA, the Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, had been assassinated in his office at the War Ministry. It was said that the culprit is a Lt. Colonel of the Regular Army.

I had thought of returning to Tokyo immediately, but I considered that it would not do to return in confusion. Therefore, I informed the Prince at Gotemba of this fact by phone and returned to Tokyo in the afternoon of the following day.

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Chapter 179
(28 August 1935)

Nagata Assassinated

Translated by T/Sgt Takashi Matsuda

When I phoned home after arriving in Tokyo in the afternoon of the 13th, there was a phone call from the official residence of the Minister of Home Affairs saying:

"KARAZAWA, Director of the Police Bureau, is at the private home of Marquis KIDO relating the story of the (NAGATA) Incident. Therefore, please come over to his place immediately." I immediately went to KIDO's place from Shimbashi and heard all about the Incident from Director KARAZAWA.

He (Director) said: "In brief, the fact that former Inspector-General of Military Education MAZAKI was made to resign from his post was the plot of a group of senior statesmen, and as a result, NAGATA became the goat. Such rumors are rampant. Also in the most reprehensible document there was a diatribe entitled: 'Great treachery of the senior statesmen, who endeavor to prevent the Showa Restoration by disturbing the national army, destroying the national polity, and practicing the Emperor-Organ theory.'

"Consequently, NAGATA became the central figure. In brief, the fact that MAZAKI, who was a great advocate of opposition to the Emperor-Organ theory, was transferred from the post of Inspector-General of Military Education to the Supreme War Council, was said to be for the purpose of averting activities opposing the Emperor-Organ theory. At any rate, believing all these

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rumors, he (AIZAWA) stabbed NAGATA without warning, and in the final analysis, it seems that there was nothing planned behind the scene.

"Lt. Colonel AIZAWA was a straight-forward person and a rather emotional person who became emotional easily from the days of his lieutenancy. Once before, he was stopped when attempting to come out from his attached unit, and it seems that he stabbed NAGATA strictly of his own accord. NAGATA was listening to the report being made by Chief of the Military Police ARAMI, at the office of the Military Affairs Section, when suddenly, he (AIZAWA) came in with a sword and slashed the side of his (NAGATA's) head. It seems that NAGATA fell instantly. The situation is not fully known but his right arm is cut because he tried to protect himself from the sword with his arm.

"Consequently, in view of the situation the War Minister said: 'Whatever is the cause, it is important to wind up this affair.' Although in one group, there is a notion of attempting to make him (War Minister) resign by saying that he is responsible, he does not seem to pay any attention. It seems that he intends to settle the issue thoroughly."

I heard the above statement from KARAZAWA, and when I went home (in the evening of the 14th), I noticed seven or eight policemen in full uniform standing in front of the gate. I thought it very imposing, and when I asked about it, they said that KIDO and I were believed to be in NAGATA's group and that we are being watched closely by a certain party: "We are guarding you because the Home Minister, the Superintendent-

General of the Metropolitan Police, and the Director of the Police Bureau so ordered.", they said.

Realizing this to be very conspicuous, I phoned the Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police saying: "I appreciate your thoughtfulness, but I want it to be less conspicuous, with two policemen without uniform at the most; if necessary, one may be in uniform." After I made the above request, they adopted my suggestion.

Immediately after that I met the Premier at his official residence and conversed for a long while about the NAGATA Incident. It seemed that the Premier intends to make the War Minister settle the issue completely. The War Minister has the same purpose. After meeting the Director of the Police Bureau and the Superintendent-General of the Metropolitan Police at the Government office, I went home.

In the morning of the 14th, I met the Foreign Minister. He said: "Great Britain showed a draft for disarmament secretly to Japan. In brief, Britain stated: 'An agreement on the limitation of the quality (of armament) should be made. We want to hold a meeting in October, and we have already spoken about it to France.' This is reported secretly to the United States and Japan."

Furthermore, the Foreign Minister said concerning the NAGATA Incident: "Recently, it is believed that extremists such as the conservative element, the so-called Kogunha (Imperial Forces Party), gathered in Tokyo. Essentially speaking, the Imperial Forces Party is composed of those who have not graduated from colleges, in other words, they are the group who fight

in the front lines. There is competition between this group and the educated group who have completed higher schooling, and who serve in the central organs such as the General Staff Headquarters or the War Ministry.

"General MAZAKI and General ARAKI are believed to be the leaders of the Imperial Forces Party and sympathetic to this Party in this strife. In other words, MAZAKI and ARAKI are cooperating with the griping elements which comprise the major portion of the Army. From a certain angle, it can be said that such a thing as this becomes the basis for disturbance in the control of the Army."

I spoke on such topics with the Foreign Minister, and in the morning of the 14th, I returned to Oiso, rested all day on the 15th, went to Gotemba on the 16th, and told all I knew about the situation when the NAGATA Incident occurred, to the Prince. The Prince said: "I thought that Japan did not necessarily have to take the course followed by Germany and Russia, but if these things happen often, perhaps Japan also must go the route taken by France, Germany, and Russia." He said this sighingly as if he were speaking to himself.

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Chapter 180
(28 August 1935)

Takahashi on China

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

I returned to Tokyo on the 16th. That night I went out to meet the Russian Ambassador and others whom I had personally invited to a banquet. I returned to Oiso on the 17th.

The Army filled the vacancy of Chief of the Army Affairs Bureau with CHUJO, the Chief of the Personnel Bureau; and Major-General USHIROKU was placed in charge of the Personnel Affairs Bureau. The settling of the aftermath of the NAGATA Incident caused a great deal of confusion, and everyone seemed to be working very hard. Rumors flew that something else would happen. Various lines of propaganda by the MAZAKI faction were prevalent. There were rumors such as: "The divisional commanders' conference can hardly be convened on the 26th," which greatly counteracted the attempt on the part of the War Minister to calm the tense atmosphere. However, the War Minister went to Hayama and made a thorough report to the Emperor, and he commenced to purge and discipline the Army thoroughly. On the 21st I met the Home Minister and heard a report on the current situation. He said that there seemed to be hardly any activity, the Rightists were comparatively quiet, and the situation was not serious, with nothing of consequence taking place.

We conversed on various materials supplied by TAKUNO, Tadao. Questions came up such as: "The Government controls acts of physical violence, but why is the control exercised over violent feelings expressed by

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pen and mouth so lax?" Conversation was also directed to recent pamphlets such as "Details of the Senior Statesmen's Bloc."

Then I went to the Foreign Office and met Vice-Minister SHIGEMITSU. He (SHIGEMITSU) said: "Great Britain has proposed a plan for disarmament. She proposed 'qualitative limitation of armament'; however, the Navy is saying that: 'It is meaningless to limit the quality (of armament) without limiting the quantity.' The attitude of the Navy seems to be that 'it is advantageous for the future (of Japan) to be unrestricted by (disarmament) treaties with foreign nations.' The Navy is very emotional on this matter.

"However, the other countries would tend to blame Japan if the Disarmament Conference did not materialize, so this problem has to be treated delicately. Japan would be offered a very difficult proposition which I fear might disrupt the entire relationship with Great Britain. I would like to wrap this (proposal of the Navy) in a pretty cloth and try to avoid any trouble" stated SHIGEMITSU urgently.

Then I went to the Prime Minister's home and met the Prime Minister who said: "A copy of the statement to France and Italy arrived from Great Britain; in brief it stated: 'If the amount (of armament) be agreed upon, let's limit the quality (of armaments), and if that cannot be done then declare your intention of self-determination of arms.' This message arrived on August 9. A long interval has elapsed since then. So, under the pretext of holding a home-welcoming luncheon for Ambassador MUSHAKOJI, I am intending to advance the

Cabinet meeting one day (to deliberate this matter). On the disarmament problem, the Japanese Government will not accede to the demands of the Navy; I expect to issue a statement: 'The attitude of the Japanese Government has not changed in the least (on the disarmament problem),' in lieu of a reply (to the proposal from Britain). In view of the current European (political) situation, a disarmament conference is unlikely to be successful; therefore, I'm planning to answer Great Britain with this sort of reply. This was decided upon at today's Cabinet meeting. The rice bill, though very secret, was being recommended for research by the Investigation Bureau. In regard to the CHUO Bank (Commercial and Industrial) even the Finance Minister was unable to clarify matters. It appears that the War Minister intends to consult with General ARAKI. The War Minister says he also intends to confer with MAZAKI. He stated that, regardless of the method, the unification of the Army is difficult. In the end, an impartial person must consolidate the Army."

On the 22nd I went to the Prince's residence and made a report on all events which had taken place, returning home on the 23rd.

I visited Finance Minister TAKAHASHI at Hayama on the 25th, and he said: "Recently, MATSUOKA, who became the President of the Manchurian Railways, came and I told him: 'First of all, we must consider the matter of trust. If there should be a deficit, and faith in us should be lost, not only will the Manchurian Railways suffer, but Japan as well. At the present time, Europe is very concerned over the stability of exchange, so if

we should settle the matter of exchange, everything would generally become settled. If economic issues should confront the Far East, China, which possesses potentialities, should lay down a well-conceived plan. Therefore, in order to gain financial advantages, what method should she follow? First of all, the preservation of peace is necessary. Following this, communications and transportation facilities must be improved, and natural resources developed. Furthermore, engineering works must be undertaken, to make it possible for even the bandits to make a living.

"'As I said previously, China herself does not have the power to undertake this, and must borrow capital from foreign nations. In other words, the foreign nations must loan China capital. Moreover, they must sell her goods and provide technical services. At such a time, the European nations will not be able to overlook Japan and lend China the money. Consequently, I have no doubt that they will unite and invite Japan.

"'During the Manchurian Incident, for example, because of the unpredictability of Japan, the foreign nations looked on in wonder. Although they were afraid that Japan would annex Manchuria, Manchuria was creditably made into an independent nation. Because they believed that Japan would not commit such an extreme act, trust to a far greater extent than before was regained by Japan. At the same time, intellectuals in Europe and America began to comprehend the actual situation in China and there was a trend of deeper cognizance of Japan and China.

"'A necessity exists for a still deeper under-

standing of Japan and China, and in this matter, the Manchurian Railways are very important. There is a need for understanding and more implicit faith, however, as at the time of the Five Power Loan to China, it was at the beginning a Four Power Loan. However, at the insistence of Japan, she was also included. At that time Japan did not have the money to loan, and consequently, could not raise it. Japan requested Britain and America to raise the loan, and so participated in the Five Power Loan to China.

"'Such methods were satisfactory at that time, but looking at it from Japan's position in the world today, there exists a necessity to handle such things independently. If we do not possess the ability to do so, we will be ridiculed by the various nations of Europe, and even China would become more disinterested. If such a thing should come to pass, it would be an unpardonable thing to the Imperial Family as well as to our posterity. As I grow older, I become more concerned over the future. Certain people are saying: "Europe and America will attach with armed might," but I cannot conceive of such a thing.

"'The future problem is that of China, that is, the matter of economic development, and the European nations are doing as they please in the Far East as far as economic and political matters are concerned. Furthermore, with the advice of foreign nations, capability is gained. Such things will aid China's recovery, and since Japan is in a position where she can take the lead in such movements, she will be ridiculed by China, as I have mentioned before, if she is not included. If such

a thing should come to pass, then it would become a national problem. Therefore, the matter of the Manchurian Railways is very important.'

"I told MATSUOKA all these things and he seemed to have understood these matters quite well and he left." Finance Minister TAKAHASHI was very indignant over the irresponsibility of recent newspaper articles and reprehensible literature. He said: "Newspapers and the like are granted exemption from taxes, but under the present circumstances, such a thing is inexcusable."

Later, I visited the Grand Chamberlain at the Choshaen in Hayama. When I spoke of the control of reprehensible literature and of pamphlets such as "Government by the Senior Statesmen's Bloc," the Grand Chamberlain mentioned events of five or six years ago. When the Grand Chamberlain was the Chief of the Naval General Staff, the TANAKA Cabinet decided at a secret meeting that nine divisions would be mobilized for Shantung. This report reached YONAI, then a section chief within the Naval General Staff, and he reported this to the Chief of the Naval General Staff. The Chief of the Naval General Staff then told the Navy Minister: "Tell the Cabinet Council that a treaty exists with China. If Japan should disregard this treaty and dispatch troops under some pretext, this would reflect on the prestige of the nation. And if such an incident should happen and the Navy were forced to take part, just what would happen? The Navy is not prepared for such an event today. If unavoidable, the Navy will go ahead, but for immediate needs, 50,000,000 yen is required.

"If nine divisions are to be mobilized, 50,000,000 yen must be granted to the Navy before this is decided upon. Actually, 50,000,000 yen is not sufficient, but this will be utilized for preparations."

The Navy Minister said this at the Cabinet Council and Premier TANAKA said: "Such an amount as 50,000,000 yen will be impossible." Therefore, this matter was dropped. Grand Chamberlain SUZUKI, who was then the Chief of the Naval General Staff, said: "Unnecessary expenditures were planned and I believe that the political parties attempted to use the money themselves."

I returned to Oiso that evening. Looking over the situation at the Divisional Commanders' Conference of the 26th, it appears that everything went well. The War Minister presented instructions for the renovation of the Army and, in general, it seemed as if the earnest efforts for the restoration of control would be rewarded.

On the 27th, I visited the Premier at his official residence and he said: "At the meeting of the Imperial Reservists' Association today, it was decided that they would support the statement on the Emperor-Organ theory. It seems that there are a number of factions, and that they are not in accord with each other. For the most part, the various divisional commanders returned encouraged by the War Minister. There had been a letter from Rear-Admiral IDEMITSU, the former Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty, which stated that there need be no undue concern over the Navy at present."

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Chapter 181
(10 September 1935)

Hayashi Wants to Resign

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

On the 28th, I met the Foreign Minister and he said: "The present general problem is the China matter. Ambassador CHIANG expressed a desire to speak with me upon his return to his post and I expect to meet him soon."

Later, I met the Minister of Home Affairs. He seemed quite worried and he said: "A strong determination concerning the Emperor-Organ theory was expressed at the meeting of the Imperial Reservists' Association. It seems as if the resignation of the War Minister is not too distant."

I returned to Oiso on the night of the 28th and there was a message from Lt. General TERAUCHI asking me to have supper with him, so I had supper with him. He had just come from Formosa. He said: "At the meeting of the Supreme War Council the other day, General WATANABE presented some reprehensible matter to General MAZAKI and said: 'These contents should not have been known to anyone other than yourself and the War Minister. If the War Minister did not reveal this, then you must have. Just the fact that you permitted such reprehensible matter to be circulated is sufficient to call for your resignation.' The other members of the War Council subdued this by saying that they should not say such things. War Minister HAYASHI said that he must also resign when ARAKI and MAZAKI resign." Chief Cabinet Secretary SHIRANE was also present, and we talked until very late.

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Hayashi Wants to Resign

On the 29th, I went to the residence of the Prince at Gotemba and returned after giving reports of the general situation. On the 31st, I met the Premier and he said: "I have spoken with the War Minister on various matters, and it appears that his position has weakened. It appears that since the NAGATA Incident, there has been great sympathy for NAGATA from the Shinshu to the Tohoku areas. The Saga area of Kyushu is sympathetic toward AIZAWA and more so toward MAZAKI. The atmosphere is that of impending regional opposition.

"It seems as if the MAZAKI faction is contemplating an effort to oust HAYASHI. They may be unable to avoid carrying it out to the very end. For instance, men such as OI, Narimoto of the Imperial Reservists' Association have joined hands with a faction of the 36 Kai, and also with a part of the Seiyukai, and are attempting to overthrow the Cabinet."

The Premier continued: "Furthermore, as for the Army and the Navy, those who supported Their Highnesses for the positions of Chiefs of the General Staffs thought that they would use them as robots, but this did not succeed. Therefore, they claim that it is not wise to have members of the Imperial Household as leaders, and there seems to be a desire to have them resign from these positions."

Premier OKADA strongly urged: "I believe that it will be very difficult for Governor-General UGAKI to come to the fore. In the end, might it not complicate matters for the War Minister?"

On the 31st, Prince HIGASHIKUNI came from Osaka and said: "There is something I wish to speak with you

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about --." When I asked him what it was, he said: "I have a great deal to say about Lieut. Colonel AIZAWA. When I was a company commander, AIZAWA was a 2nd Lt. in my company. He was a very simple fellow, and although Lt. Colonel YASUDA who was stationed with me was a very simple man, he was even more so. I did not meet him very often after that and I have no special connections with him. However, when I was resting from the recent manouvers in Osaka, AIZAWA came and said that he wished to see me. I declined to see him because I was so exhausted, but he said that he was going to Formosa, so I met him."

The Prince continued: "It actually seems that when I met him he was intending to go to Formosa. Therefore, it seems as if he suddenly started doing such violent things only after he came out to Tokyo. It seems as if MAZAKI spoke fiercely to him, as he had done at my place, of the evil nature of NAGATA, and AIZAWA, falling under this influence, did such a thing."

The Premier asked me to come over on the 3rd, so I visited him. He said: "War Minister HAYASHI was over a while ago and he said: 'I don't believe that I will last very long. If I leave things alone, as I am doing now, there is no telling what will happen. It seems that about a thousand young officers have organized and are planning something. Therefore, couldn't the Government take some other measures on the matter of the Emperor-Organ theory?'

I replied: 'I am doing all that is possible, and anything beyond this is impossible. I can do nothing

else on the Emperor-Organ theory.' HAYASHI said: 'If matters are left to run a free course, something is certain to happen, so there is but one thing for me to do and that is to resign. There is no alternative but to turn the post over to a new man and then aid him as a Supreme War Councillor.'

"I then said: 'I am speaking from experience, and only as a Minister of State can one do anything. As a Supreme War Councillor, you will not be able to do what you think.' The War Minister still vigorously advocated his resignation and said that he wished that General KAWASHIMA take over the position. He said: 'I spoke to General KAWASHIMA of this matter, and he said that it was too late and that there could be no telling what may happen. However, I will explain the situation to KAWASHIMA, and there should be some sort of reply from him tomorrow, and I would like to have things done this way.'

"I (Premier) attempted to stop him, but the position of the War Minister was also very difficult and I thought that it was unavoidable. On the 4th, the War Minister came and said: 'KAWASHIMA has understood and I shall aid him as much as I can. I will have him come around 1:30 P.M., so please meet him.'"

The Premier appeared very concerned over the matter of presenting KAWASHIMA, and such difficult matters as the Emperor-Organ theory. He believed that they might cause the Government trouble and perhaps be used as lever to overthrow the Cabinet, or at least to place the administration in a difficult predicament over the matter of the successor to the War Minister.

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Chapter 132
(14 September 1935)

Death of Yonaimi

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

On the evening of the 3rd, I went to KIDO's residence and related these facts. KIDO was to relate these facts to the Home Minister. However, because I was very worried, I went to see SUZUKI, Sadaichi of the Army and asked him if the War Minister was really going to resign.

SUZUKI replied: "HAYASHI says that he will resign, but he will not. He will say that he is resigning but will remain at his post after receiving the gracious words of His Majesty." I then said: "No, I believe that he is actually going to resign. Just who would be suitable as a successor?" He replied: "Anyone would be suitable, but first we must all agree. Of course, KAWASHIMA or anyone else would be excellent, so I don't think that it will be such a great problem."

He continued: "The following is very secret, and this should be related only to the Prince. Recently, when General ARAKI met General HAYASHI, ARAKI very vigorously said: 'It is traditional in the Army for the War Minister to assume responsibility in the event that such an incident occurs. Therefore, you should resign as the War Minister and let a new man take over the position. Then, as a Supreme War Councillor, you should join us and aid the new War Minister.' It may have been that the War Minister decided to carry this out after considering this bit of advice."

I parted from SUZUKI with the following words of

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advice: "Do not add any ridiculous conditions, and see to it that the Army does not join a group of those plotting to overthrow the Cabinet." On my return, I stopped at KIDO's residence and related the details of the talk I had had with SUZUKI.

On the evening of the 4th, the Premier requested that I come over, so I did. He said: "General KAWASHIMA came over this afternoon and said that he had conferred with the War Minister, and that he would like my aid. Thereupon, I told KAWASHIMA: 'The Army must be the Emperor's Army and all must unite and exert their efforts to make it a magnificent one. The Emperor personally wishes to supervise all diplomatic and military affairs, so inform him prior to making decisions on all matters. Diplomatic affairs are conducted thus, but there are many occasions when things happen before the Emperor is aware of their existence. Therefore, the Army must unite. The administration is conferring with the Army, the Navy and the Foreign Office in formulating a China policy, but in economic matters I believe that the Finance Ministry should be included. Once the administration's foreign policy is decided upon, there must be no incidents of military officials acting contrary to the policy. Up to the present time, there have been incidents which reflected upon the Empire and gave us a great deal of trouble. Therefore, on these matters, there must be more unity and more respect for matters which have already been decided upon. We must relieve the Emperor of all anxieties as soon as possible, even at the risk of our lives.'

"General KAWASHIMA was silent so I asked him:

'What is your opinion on the Emperor-Organ theory?' He replied that he was very concerned over it. I continued: 'Legal proceedings have been instituted against KANAMORI and we must wait for the decisions of the court. The Government will not waver in the matter of Baron ICHIKI. There is no discussion on this matter." General KAWASHIMA left, thoroughly acquainted with the Premier's wishes.

The Premier immediately went to Hayama and reported to the Throne upon the unavoidable circumstances of the resignation of War Minister HAYASHI, and also upon the presentation of General KAWASHIMA as the successor. The Emperor said that it was reported that there was ill-feeling between ARAKI and KAWASHIMA, and that there would be trouble if there was any objection from ARAKI.

The Premier replied: "YOSHIDA, the Chief of the Investigation Bureau, was sent to ascertain ARAKI's attitude last night, and it seems that he said that General KAWASHIMA was excellent."

According to the Premier, the Emperor said: "HAYASHI has done a deplorable thing, but there may have been no other way."

After his return, he again met the former War Minister and asked him, although he had resigned as the War Minister, to remain and exert his efforts as though he were remaining in that position. General HAYASHI had replied that he would aid KAWASHIMA as a Supreme War Councillor.

The Premier asked me to tell the Prince: "I will adhere to matters as much as possible in the future, but please ask the Prince to give future matters thorough

consideration. At the present time I believe that neither UGAKI nor MIYAMI is suitable, and that either YUASA or Viscout SAITO would be preferable."

On the 5th, I went to the Prince's residence and reported these matters. The Prince said: "The Premier's attitude is very illogical. However, tell him that SAIONJI is very grateful for his trouble and that he is very pleased." When I related other incidents, the Prince said: "I believe that YUASA might become adamant in the face of an emergency. Although SAITO is older, he is acquainted with politics and is more courageous, so I think that he is the better man."

I returned on the 7th and again met the Premier. He said: "A portion of the Seiyukai is attempting to find flaws in Viscount SAITO. It seems as if KUHARA and TOMITA are up to something. There are complaints of interference in the elections, but that is only natural. The control of the Seiyukai is ineffective, and there is danger of violence to the candidates. There seem to be some ruffians among the Renovation Committee, so there must be some reforms."

The Premier continued: "The former War Minister visited me and said that the Army seems to have settled down and that things are improving."

Later, I met the Justice Minister and he said: "We must do something to clear up the MINOBE matter either next week or the week after that. At present, there is still some discussion of the characteristics of a nation in regard to the definition of a nation. I intend to do something about this."

Early on the morning of the 8th, I received a

telephone call from Railways Minister UCHIDA to the effect that Communications Minister TOKONAMI was in a critical condition. Immediately, UCHIDA and GOTO assembled at the official residence of the Premier. At first UCHIDA desired to select MAYEDA from the Seiyukai; if not MAYEDA, then MOCHIZUKI. However, the Premier believed that MAYEDA would not accept, although he favored him. In all probability, MOCHIZUKI would advance the name of AKITA, and most of the Cabinet does not think well of accepting AKITA.

They decided that they should get the opinion of Commerce and Industry Minister MACHIDA on this matter, so they summoned him from Hakone. MACHIDA said: "I don't think that there will be any objections from the political parties to the choice of MAYEDA, and it would be permissible for him to take over immediately. As for MOCHIZUKI, there may be some discussion within the parties, so we must get the opinions of the parties."

Minister MACHIDA continued: "As the President of the Minseito, I must first consult with the leaders of the party. I will visit Baron WAKATSUKI and return." He finally came back after four hours and said: "The Minseito wishes to have someone from the party, preferably KAWASAKI."

It seems as if Baron WAKATSUKI was also of the same opinion. If the Premier should limit matters so simply to the Minseito, the opposition parties would become stubborn and this would precipitate an awkward situation. From the start it was believed that MAYEDA would not accept and it would have been well if MOCHIZUKI had been advanced. There was considerable opinion support-

ing the widening of the choice, but they could not reach any decision. Therefore, at a little after six, it was decided that this post would be held concurrently, and the Premier left for Hayama to report this to the Emperor. The Investiture Ceremonies were to be held on the morning of the 9th.

I went to see the Premier at Hayama on the morning of the 9th before he left, and he spoke of the foregoing matters. He said: "From now on, the Cabinet will become weaker, and it will be rather troublesome. There will be no immediate resignation of the Cabinet, but the situation has become more difficult. Please convey these views to the Prince."

I met the Foreign Minister later and he said: "In regard to the solution of the Manchukuo problem, Great Britain will advocate the recognition of Manchukuo independence by China. The trend is to work in unison with Japan toward the solution of the China problem. I have not met Mr. Leith ROSS as yet, but when I do, I plan to tell him that China must be observed carefully and investigated thoroughly." Mr. Leith ROSS is a graduate of Oxford and a financial expert. At present, he is a financial and economic advisor to the British Government. He seems to have been a classmate of MATSUDAIRA, Yoshitomi.

On the morning of the 10th, I went to Gotemba and accompanied the Prince to Okitsu. I went with him as far as Okitsu and related the general situation. Before I left, the Premier had said: "The Minseito had selected KAWASAKI to fill the vacancy of Communications Minister TOKONAMI, but they retracted this and now they

nominate MAYEDA for the position. In general, they have left the matter in my hands and have withdrawn their previous claims." The situation is one that would be avoidable if MOCHIZUKI were placed in office.

On the 10th, the Premier asked Finance Minister TAKAHASHI to exert his efforts to get MAYEDA to withdraw. However, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI summoned MOCHIZUKI to his private residence and said: "We are faced with an emergency, the gravity of which shows no indications of diminishing. Therefore the present Cabinet must continue in office in order to ease public feeling. If there should be a political change, the military and portions of the political parties will unite and bring about fascism. From the standpoint of the national polity this cannot be permitted. In order for the political parties to improve, there must be about two dissolutions. If there are any obstacles to national unity, they must be completely destroyed. We are very concerned over what is to be done in order to keep the Cabinet in office. Have you any good ideas along this line?"

MOCHIZUKI said: "I agree with you. There have been some people who approached me to take over the position of Communications Minister, but I have no such intention. I am more suited to working in the background, and believe that AKITA should become the Communications Minister."

TAKAHASHI replied: "AKITA is fine and is a diligent worker, but there need be no rush about him. There are some other circumstances to consider, so let us wait a while longer before he is made a Minister of State.

There will come a time when we can consider him, possibly after the general election. At the present time, I am considering MAYEDA for the position." MOCHIZUKI then said: "MAYEDA is very good, but I wonder if he will accept the position." TAKAHASHI then said: "That is the problem. However, if you should explain to him earnestly it is possible that he may accept. Please explain this to him. If he still refuses after your explanation, there is no alternative but to have you assume the position."

MOCHIZUKI immediately returned home and invited MAYEDA to his home early on the morning of the 11th. Finance Minister TAKAHASHI had called up MAYEDA directly, and had told him: "What MOCHIZUKI has to say is entirely in accord with my opinion, so please listen to him carefully."

The fact that matters had progressed this far was only the natural course of events. The person who had first considered the matter of a successor when TOKONAMI passed away was Railways Minister UCHIDA, and MAYEDA was his original selection. The Premier was of the opinion that MAYEDA would hardly accept.

UCHIDA had secretly met MAYEDA and had advanced the proposition of becoming the Communications Minister, but MAYEDA said: "It is not very pleasant for me to push aside MOCHIZUKI and become the Communications Minister when the newspapers are already advancing such an idea. If I am to be the man, then I must first consult with OKAZAKI and YAMAMOTO, Jotaro." Thereupon UCHIDA said: "It would be very troublesome if this matter leaked out, so please put off consulting with

OKAZAKI and YAMAMOTO and keep this matter to yourself alone."

When UCHIDA met MAYEDA for the second time, he said: "If MACHIDA or TAKAHASHI urged you to become the Communications Minister, what would you say?" It is said that MAYEDA replied: "If MACHIDA and TAKAHASHI say such a thing, then I will decline all other affiliations and enter the Cabinet." UCHIDA related this incident to the Premier.

Chief Cabinet Secretary SHIRANE is on good terms with MAYEDA and they met secretly at the Tokyo Club. He investigated MAYEDA's attitude and found that it was as reported by UCHIDA. It was decided that it was best to explain to MACHIDA and have him approach MAYEDA. The plan was to have the Premier speak to TAKAHASHI and he in turn would see MACHIDA who would persuade MAYEDA. However, this was not undertaken rashly.

MOCHIZUKI called MAYEDA to his home on the morning of the 11th and approached him. However, MAYEDA would not accept, saying that MOCHIZUKI was more suitable for the position. Finally, at about 4:00 P.M. on the 11th, after the funeral of former Communications Minister TOKONAMI, MACHIDA again visited TAKAHASHI. He told TAKAHASHI: "MAYEDA did not accept. If the Premier should say that I would be acceptable, as you have advocated, then there will be no alternative. I shall go to see the Premier at any time——."

About 5:00 P.M. TAKAHASHI went to the Premier's place and related this story. About 5:30, the Premier summoned MOCHIZUKI, and prevailed upon him to accept the position of Communications Minister. MOCHIZUKI

accepted, saying that it was inevitable. The Premier reported to the Throne that night at Hayama, and the Investiture Ceremonies were completed at Hayama on the morning of the 12th. This matter, which had been quite unsettled for some time, reached a solution in this way.

I went to meet the Premier on the morning of the 14th and he said: "There have been no incidents of great importance, but at yesterday's Cabinet Council I called together Ministers TAKAHASHI, MACHIDA, UCHIDA and YAMAZAKI and told them: 'This Cabinet cannot resign at this time, and we must continue somehow. In order for us to proceed with national unity, a majority is necessary. We must gain a majority somehow, but I do not know the method, for I have no party affiliations. Therefore there is no alternative but to ask you to do this. I would like to have you investigate and cooperate with each other.'

"Thereupon, Railways Minister UCHIDA brought up the problem of the organization of a new party. However, Agriculture and Forestry Minister YAMAZAKI said that he also had other ideas along that line. There was discussion on various subjects. In the meantime, Finance Minister TAKAHASHI said: 'The Seiyukai may wedge itself in in the future during the reorganization. If it should advocate national unity, then it would be best to create a minister without portfolio.'

"I (Premier) then replied: 'It would be quite difficult if a minister without portfolio were created without any specific job or responsibilities. TAKAHASHI is a very capable man, but it would be difficult

if we ignore the facts and become over idealistic.' MACHIDA then said that this matter should be postponed and we parted on that note." The Premier concluded: "The petroleum problem may come up in the Cabinet Council of the 17th, but I don't think that it will amount to very much. I also believe that if Dr. TOMII should pass away, his place as Privy Councillor should be left vacant for awhile."

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Chapter 133
(19 September 1935)

Chinese Overtures

Translated by Lieut. Taichi Nishihara

I met the Foreign Minister on the 14th, and he said: "Mr. Leith ROSS said to me: 'I would like to carry out the revision of the currency system as efficiently as it was done in Manchukuo. Prior to this, the internal administration of China must be rehabilitated and the nation unified. Furthermore, in order to improve relations with Japan, Manchukuo must be recognized. Japan must guarantee loans from foreign nations to China or it will be quite difficult.'"

The Foreign Minister continued: "I replied to Leith ROSS: 'If there is not reasonable security money cannot be loaned. At any rate, let us confer once more after observing the situation; either we will meet once more or you may prefer to speak to Ambassador ARIYOSHI about this.'"

The Foreign Minister continued: "I want this discussed with no one but the Prince. The fact is that Leith ROSS brought a message from the King to the Emperor. Its contents were: 'I have asked Leith ROSS to convey this message. I wish you continued good health and pray for friendship and goodwill between our two nations. China is in a difficult predicament and I wish that Great Britain and Japan would cooperate and give aid to China.' When Leith ROSS has an audience with His Majesty on the 18th, he will present this message from the King to the Emperor.

"I have met Ambassador CHIANG occasionally in se-

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cret and the Emperor also had some words with him when he left Japan. The essential points were conveyed to CHIANG Kai-shek and the other leaders. Just then, the North China Incident occurred and the leaders had some questions on it, but these were answered satisfactorily. The opinions of the leaders of China were; first, China must be considered an equal and independent nation; second, association must be entered upon with a truly friendly spirit; third, relations must be conducted by diplomatic agencies. They also believed that an early recognition of Manchukuo would cause them embarrassment, and they desired that the Manchukuo problem be left pending for the present. If the relations between the two nations improved, then previous treaties would be abrogated and they would work cooperatively in economic relations. Even if this should bring benefits to Japan and none to China, it was still all right to cooperate. In order to attain this cooperative objective, military coordination is desirable.

"These overtures all had some relation to Russia, and it seems as if they were meant to check communistic activities. Ambassador CHIANG advocated that Japan investigate the method and the appropriate time for them. According to secret intelligence of the Foreign Office, Ambassador CHIANG is to be appointed as the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, and he has accepted this. There is need for me to have further conversations with him."

On the 16th, I went to Okitsu and made a complete report on these matters. The Prince said: "I am not too familiar with the Ethipian question, but I wonder

if it will not end in the division of Ethipia between Britain, France and Italy?" The Prince continued: "In a recent edition of a Fukuoka newspaper, I read an article by OKAZAKI, Kunisuke dealing with the events at the time of the formation of the first YAMAMOTO Cabinet, but it is far removed from the actual facts. These incidents took place some 20 (?) years ago, and the men who actually witnessed them already are deviating from facts; history is certainly an unreliable thing. There is no necessity to go over those events, but I shall tell you about them:

"OKAZAKI's version was: 'Count YAMAMOTO visited Prince KATSURA and immediately went to meet Prince SAIONJI at the headquarters of the Seiyukai. The leader of the succeeding Cabinet was selected between these two men.' This is very different from the facts. I do not know anything of the conversation between Prince KATSURA and Count YAMAMOTO. People have said that it was for advice upon the resignation. The fact remains that after Count YAMAMOTO visited Prince KATSURA, he immediately came to the headquarters of the Seiyukai to see me, but I was not there at that time. He next went to my Rusugadai home, but I was not there. Consequently, Count YAMAMOTO told the caretaker: 'I wished to see the Prince on some business, but since he is not in, I want you to relay this message. Tell Prince SAIONJI that Prince KATSURA understands my views, and that matters were left as they were previous to that meeting. We parted with the understanding that we would not let anyone know that we had met.'

"Later, there was a summons from the Palace and

when I went, was to be received by His Majesty, Emperor TAISHO. When I was received in audience, the Emperor said: 'KATSURA just presented his resignation. YAMAGATA and MATSUKATA are conferring in a separate room and I want you also to take part in the discussions.'

"Therefore, I withdrew from the presence of the Emperor and went to the separate room. To YAMAGATA and MATSUKATA, I said: 'I have received an Imperial decree to discuss a leader for the succeeding Cabinet.' Prince KATSURA was also there and he said: 'It will be rather embarrassing if I remain, so I shall go.' I then told him that it would be all right for him to remain, but Prince KATSURA left.

"Both YAMAGATA and MATSUKATA were silent for some time so I said: 'If you do not have any ideas, then I propose Count YAMAMOTO, Gombei. How do you feel about him?' It seemed as if there was no objection from either of them. Marquis INOUYE and another member were travelling and it was said that although messengers would be dispatched to learn their opinions, they did not know whether YAMAMOTO would accept or not.

"I immediately left and went to Count YAMAMOTO's place at Takanawa and told him: 'KATSURA has resigned; won't you consider taking over the position?' He replied that he would if he could obtain the support of the Seiyukai. I then said that although I was the President of the Seiyukai, I could not take the responsibility upon myself, so we would meet with HARA and MATSUDA directly.

"Thereupon, I summoned HARA and MATSUDA to my home

in Surugadai, and Count YAMAMOTO also came. Finally, it was decided that the Seiyukai would support the Count and that he would accept. The opinions of the Genro were in agreement and Count YAMAMOTO was presented as the leader of the Cabinet and the first YAMAMOTO Cabinet was formed. These are the true facts."

The Prince continued: "I did not desire plenipotentiary powers at the Peace Conference and I accepted because it was inevitable. It seems as if this was the plan of YAMAGATA, and he selected me because it would be a source of trouble if KATO, Komei attended. The Premier at that time, HARA, urged me, but this seems to have been the intention of YAMAGATA who urged HARA. Even today it seems suspicious. Even my selection as the President of the Code Investigation Commission was due to the feelings of YAMAGATA, who did not desire HOSOKAWA, Junjiro in that position."

I returned to Oiso on the 17th and went to Tokyo on the 18th. When I reached Tokyo, OKAZAKI, Kunisuke visited me and said: "If things go on as they are, they will prove very troublesome. How would it be if the Genro expressed his opinion in certain cases and undertook the leadership? Isn't there some method by which the entire nation might be united; that is, through the unity of bureaucracy and political parties who have eliminated party ideas; so that the runaway Army may be prevented from committing any grave errors? Weren't the SAITO and OKADA Cabinets formed with such an intention?"

On the 18th, Dr. MINOBE resigned from the House of

Peers, and because the prosecution was postponed, this pending problem was also settled.

I met the Premier on the morning of the 19th and he said: "The War Minister is scheduled to come today, and I believe that it will be to discuss the matter of the vice-presidency of the Manchurian Railways. Although it seems as if OMURA will get the appointment, the public will say that the War Minister came to ask for a clarification of the national polity or that he was dissatisfied with the disposition of the MINOBE matter. However, there is no other way open. In any case, this matter will be left alone. When I was received in audience yesterday, I reported the settlement of the MINOBE case and His Majesty said that it was fine.

The Premier continued: "Four or five days ago, Dr. MINOBE sent a letter to the Minister of Justice which stated that he was very sorry to have caused so much commotion and that he would resign from the upper house as soon as things settled down. The Justice Minister urged him to resign and the present state of affairs ensued. The Premier concluded: "The Army and the right wing will probably have various comments to make on this matter, but it is impossible to do anything beyond this."

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Chapter 194
(27 September 1935)

Hiranuma Plots Again

Translated by T/Sgt. Shigeo Fukuyama

In his statement to the press on the evening of the 19th, Professor MINOBE said: "There is absolutely no change in my beliefs." Regarding this statement, the rightists and the military group commented: "Whereas the Department of Justice ordered a delay in his prosecution, claiming that there had been a change in his mental attitude, MINOBE is saying that there is no change." Regarding the fact that it was a most regrettable thing that there should be differences between Professor MINOBE's statement and the letter which had been left with the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Home Affairs stated on the 20th: "This matter was brought up for discussion in the Cabinet meeting."

The Minister of Home Affairs continued: "The Navy Minister has also stated: 'There is a difference between the statement made by MINOBE and that of the Chief Public Procurator. Isn't there something suspicious in the fact that a delay in the prosecution was ordered?' The War Minister has also expressed the same views on the subject. At any rate, there is something very wrong in the inconsistency of the facts, and I would like to see the delay in the prosecution cancelled."

To this, the Minister of Justice replied: "To have another prosecution is a very difficult thing; however, I will consider it and discuss this matter again." The Minister of Home Affairs told me over and over again that: "MINOBE's Emperor-Organ theory is a

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very complicated problem, and I guess it will continue for awhile, but I would like very much to avoid the problem concerning ICHIKI and KANAMORI. I would like to see this problem concerning MINOBE continued until December, but preparations must be made for the succeeding Cabinet in the event that there is a change in the administration." This problem furnished the rightists and some of the military group with very good material to use in their movements to overthrow the Cabinet, and the nation was thrown into great turmoil.

I met the Foreign Minister on the 23rd and he told me: "It appears that the American Ambassador, GREW, is coming back to Japan, and if he does, the relationship between the United States and Japan will become better. I do not know yet who will go to the Philippine Independence Celebration." The Foreign Minister and I talked about the time when KONOYE came over to my place and told me about the article written by Colonel HOUSE of the United States in the Liberty Magazine, regarding the problem of the maintenance or the destruction of the status quo, in which he said: "If the three major powers, Great Britain, the United States, and France do not allow expanding nations like Japan, Germany and Italy a certain amount of territory, and satisfy their demands for expansion peacefully, the peace of the world cannot be maintained."

Regarding this, Ambassador SAITO had told Prince KONOYE: "Write an article that will sympathize with HOUSE's sentiments," and KONOYE had written such an article for the Liberty Magazine.

I thought that I would go to Okitsu on the 23rd,

but the Premier asked me to wait another day so I decided to leave on the morning of the 24th. I met the Premier early on the morning of the 24th and he told me: "There's nothing happening right now, but I'm afraid that something may occur later. As for the future, I don't think that SAITO will do. It might be all right if UGAKI and ARAKI join hands, but there is nothing definite on that. I think that the Minister of Commerce and Industry may make a complaint regarding the budget. Admiral SUETSUGU went over and had a talk with the Navy Minister, and although the Minister told him that the Government was doing all it could, SUETSUGU told him: 'If the Government is doing all that, why don't you let the military group know it?' and went home."

I returned home and telephoned the Navy Minister and asked him: "Just what did Admiral SUETSUGU say?" The Navy Minister replied: "This problem is getting to be very bothersome." I then said: "I understand that he went home very well satisfied." The Navy Minister seemed just as indignant as SUETSUGU and told me: "He was not satisfied. If the combined fleet went out regarding this problem there's no telling what might happen. There's a lot of sense to what SUETSUGU said. The present administration of the Government is very poor."

I immediately phoned the Premier and told him: "What you said concerning the talk between the Navy Minister and SUETSUGU is all wrong. He seemed to be greatly worried, but nevertheless he listened quietly. That night I was invited by the Governor of Shizuoka to have supper with him and other prefectural officials.

Hiranuma Plots Again

I returned home on the morning of the 25th.

The Minister of Justice said that a letter from Professor MINOBE had come to his office on the 22nd. This letter stated that: "In regard to my talk published in the newspapers of the 18th, I regret from the bottom of my heart that it brought on such public discussion. In regard to my mental attitude, there is no difference between what was told to the Chief Public Procurator and what was expressed in the letter to the Minister of Justice. I wish to say that I desire to retract some of the statements made in my talk, because they do not express my true feelings. I humbly ask for your opinion regardin· this." The Minister of Justice further declared that in regard to the Emperor-Organ theory, the Justice Department would treat the author as a violator of the law.

The rightists started clamoring again to the military circles that: "The statement made on the 22nd is nothing but a conspiracy." Because of this the War and Navy Ministers made an issue of it in the Cabinet meeting on the 25th. It even had influence on ICHIKI and KANAMORI problem. The two Ministers asked the Premier: "What are we going to do about KANAMORI?" Flatly refusing discussion, the Premier replied: "Leave all matters concerning individuals to me."

Thus the Cabinet meeting did not touch upon this matter. The full particulars were explained by the Premier and the Minister of Justice. The War and Navy Ministers asked the Premier: "Do you agree with the statement made by the War and Navy Ministers in their speeches at the meeting of the Imperial Reservists

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Association that the supreme sovereign is the Emperor." Of course the Premier replied: "It is my belief that the supreme sovereign is the Emperor."

The Cabinet meeting heard everything that the military group had to say, and adjourned with everyone's mind at peace. I met the Premier on the 26th and he told me what had happened in the Cabinet meeting. As a result of the prolonged conspiracy against them, ICHIKI and MAKINO were in hot water; this conspiracy was a plot of the rightists to chase out the Genro, the senior statesmen, and others close to the Emperor by means of the Emperor-Organ theory, and to take over themselves, with HIRANUMA as their leader.

I asked the Premier: "Why don't you make a quick counter-attack?" The Premier replied: "We cannot afford to make a mistake. There is no alternative but to assume a passive attitude and try to settle this problem. If by any chance, the military group should take over the administrative power, the situation will become dangerous. As it is, SAITO is incapable, and naturally UGAKI isn't fit to take over yet; so I think that Prince KONOYE is the man for the job."

The Premier continued: "Acting through the War and Navy Ministers, the conspirators will probably come out persistently and ask for the resignation of ICHIKI and KANAMORI; however, I intend to make a flat refusal. I told the War Minister yesterday that a certain commanding officer had stated that he would destroy CHIANG Kai-shek's power in North China. In regard to this, I make a report to the Emperor at least once a week; however, it would be bad if I could not answer any question

that the Emperor may ask, so I asked him to look into the details of this incident."

On the night of the 26th, several newspaper reporters came over and told me that this Emperor-Organ theory was a conspiracy of a group with HIRANUMA as their leader. I though that it would be best to expose this gradually as a conspiracy.

I met the Premier on the 28th and he said: "It seems as though the Navy Minister has assumed a defiant attitude, and there is a big gap between the War and Navy Ministers and the other Cabinet members. I am worried about what may happen in the future. However, I believe that the situation in general, especially in regard to the administrative group, will gradually become better. In regard to the statement made by the commanding officer, the War Minister inquired into this and found that this commanding officer had talked to some newspaper reporters in Peiping. In this talk he told them that the Army is acting within the scope of its promise to end the war. However, he had written a pamphlet and distributed it with explicit orders not to release it to the outside world; the statements appearing in the newspapers were taken from this pamphlet."

I met the Chief of the Metropolitan Police on the 29th and he told me: "SUETSUGU, KATO, MAZAKI and ARAKI have joined forces and are making efforts to overthrow the Cabinet." I did not know whether this report had gone to the Chief of the General Staff, Prince KAN-IN or not, so I said to him: "Don't you think it would be advisable to report this to the intendant to Prince KAN-IN?" It seems that immediately thereafter, the

Chief of Police met the intendant to Prince KAN-IN.

I met the Foreign Minister on the 30th and he said: "I think that war will soon break out between Italy and Ethiopia. The Premier of Italy has been making strong speeches to the Cabinet, and in regard to any punishment by the League of Nations, Poland will probably absent herself, so there will not be complete unity within the League. In regard to the Disarmament Conference, CRAIGIE has even told Charge d' Affaires FUJII: 'I would like to see it open within this year' - but FUJII intends to answer him after talking it over with the Navy Minister.

I met the Premier on the 1st of October and he told me: "The Ministries of Home Affairs, Justice and Education each has a different interpretation of the Emperor-Organ theory and it is a very complicated affair. The War Minister has teen pressed by both his higher and his lower ranks, and he is greatly worried that this situation may get out of hand."

I met the Finance Minister later the same day and he told me: "Several days ago, the Foreign Minister came to me and explained our plans in North China. It seems that preparations for war have secretly been made. The situation up there has gradually become neutralized since the days of the INUKAI Cabinet, but come to think of it, the situation then was really critical, because the Army wanted to fight the Russians and the Navy wanted to fight the United States. At any rate, we may believe that the situation there has generally been eased. However, our present foreign relations are being high-pressured by the Army, and it would be a source of

great worry if the Premier backed them up and acted merely as a "robot" of the Army."

It seems that he had also stressed this point to the Premier. I met the Premier after the Cabinet meeting and he told me: "I met the War Minister after the Cabinet meeting and told him: 'The Army is saying this and that about the Emperor-Organ theory, and at the same time it is trying to meddle in personnel affairs. Dealing with individuals is not such a simple thing. It has been a very difficult thing to make a man resign since the amendment to the Limitation Ordinance was passed. The ousting of even prefectural governors has become difficult, and although there are people urging me to do something about KANAMORI, he has been serving faithfully as a government official. If I made KANAMORI resign on a thing like this, the government officials would lose all faith in me, so I cannot very well do it.' The War Minister, himself, did not say anything about other people's affairs, but he secretly told the Navy Minister: 'The Seiyukai and others like KOBAYASHI, Junichiro have come to me saying this and that about certain people, so I told them that even though they came to me and said certain things about people, I could not tell this to the Government. They became very angry at this and told me that they would bring charges on the October and March Incidents.' I asked the Minister of Justice if they could make these charges and what would happen if they did make these charges. The War Minister also asked the Minister of Justice about this."

Later, I met the Foreign Minister and he told me: "Italy is sure to wage war against Ethiopia. If it did

not, MUSSOLINI wouldn't have any footing at all."

Later, KIDO came over and told me: "I have a message for the Genro from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The message is: 'Everything is confused and there's no telling when there will be a change in the administration. Will you please give serious thought to the coming Cabinet?' Will you please give this message to the Genro?"

There was a lot of talk going around in various places about making ICHIKI resign as the President of the Privy Council and replacing him with HIRANUMA, so that the military group and the rightists would be pacified to some extent. There was a tendency for the higher-ups to give this matter considerable thought.

I went to Okitsu on the 2nd and made a general report to SAIONJI. I told him about the message from the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal and about the movement for the promotion of Vice-President HIRANUMA. SAIONJI told me: "Tell KIDO and the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal that this isn't the first time that I've thought about the next Cabinet in case of a change in the administration, but that I am always thinking of the future. And when you tell them my thoughts, if they are against me then let the Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal do as he pleases. I am absolutely against the promotion of HIRANUMA. In any case, we must make that sort of a man powerless as soon as possible for the good of the world."

I returned from Okitsu on the morning of the 3rd and told the Premier of my trip there and about HIRANUMA. I told the Premier that SAIONJI had told me not to take heed of persons coming in, and saying this and that about

succeeding cabinets, and to keep quiet about his thoughts and what he would like to say.

I met the Premier on the morning of the 5th. I learned that the War, Navy, Foreign and Finance Ministers met after the Cabinet meeting the day before and decided upon the foreign policy in China. Regarding this plan, the Finance Minister said: "What does the phrase 'relations between sovereign and subjects' in this policy mean? Does it mean 'to spread the policy of Japan first to the rest of the world'? If it does, it will be a source of great worry."

The Foreign Minister said: "No. It does not mean that. It reflects only the true meaning of the phrase." The Finance Minister said: "If that is the case then it's all right. And another thing, the fact that they are making an issue of the things that the Army and its petty officials in China are doing, and saying that the Chinese National Government is causing a lot of trouble etc., is not good. In a country like China, where control is very difficult, to make it an issue that petty officials do something is certainly not showing the broadmindedness of a major power. Furthermore, the economic life of China is stumbling and we must do something to help it; however, if Great Britain and the United States honestly mean to help relieve this condition and make approaches to us, we must not refuse them and say that Japan will not allow Britain or the United States to interfere, and that it is something that she alone must do. In relieving this economic situation with the thought of improving China, we must cooperate with Britain and the United States. In other words, for China

to cater to Europe and America and to shun Japan is a very bad thing. To talk boastfully in China is a thing we must not do. Before we do anything, we must consult the Emperor."

The Premier related the Financo Minister's words to the War Minister. The War Minister said: "I received just such words of caution from the Emperor some time ago. We must take control here and not let those in China do as they please."

Furthermore in his story to me, the Premier said: "The War Minister and I talked about various things before the Cabinet meeting. It seems that the Government was being criticized greatly and I told the War Minister: 'The Government cannot do a thing about the President of the Privy Council, ICHIKI. The appointment to this position has always been handled in the same way as that of the Premier. For an outsider to criticize a man who has received the trust of the Emperor is a bad thing. If the Army does not do any mud-slinging, he will not resign. This type of thing will be a disgrace to the Army, and I believe that the entire Cabinet will try to stop it.' The War Minister agreed with me and told me: 'I will try to control this to the best of my ability.'"

Saionji - Harada Memoirs

Chapter 185
(15 October 1935)

Disgruntled Army

Translated by T/Sgt. Shigeo Fukuyama

I met the Premier on the 8th and he told me: "The public seems unconcerned about the situation but financial and economic circles generally seem to be against a change of administration. Although they do not represent the entire Army, a certain part of the Army uses flattery on the Reservists. Especially KOBAYASHI and his group in the 36-Kai, who give the Reservists travelling expenses to come to Tokyo, put them up at the Gunjin Kaikan, give them food to eat and wine to drink for days on end, and then use propaganda to incite them and raise their spirits. It seems that the former Chief of the Military Police, HATA, has been going to Kyushu, and that men like Baron KIKUCHI have been going around inciting the Reservists. When the members of the Supreme War Council got together, they said that: 'The Government is doing things bit by bit; if you're being treated by someone, you get more satisfaction out of it if he goes all out than if he treats you bit by bit. Therefore, if the Government did not do things bit by bit, but came right out and stated definitely that: 'The sovereign power is the Emperor', then it could differentiate between the ones with dishonest motives who are aiming at an opportunity to overthrow the Cabinet, or to try to get into power, and those who are carrying out their jobs with sincerity, even overcoming deception and bribery. Therefore to make this distinction we would like to see them make a definite statement. Then, after the statement had

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been made, the general officers would be able to suppress the ones with dishonest motives.'"

I luncheon with KONOYE on the 8th, and we talked about what would happen in case of a change in the administration and, as much as possible, I had him elucidate his personal feelings. I told him: "If something should happen, is there someone who would go all out and work for you? Think the matter over very carefully. Hereafter, in your contacts with various people, be careful not to be taken in by them." KONOYE told me: "Don't worry, because in the first place my health would not permit it, and even if I were taken in I would not be able to participate."

I told KONOYE about the time when TOKUGAWA, Yoshichika brought OGAWA, Shumei over to my place. I told him: "This story is very unfavorable to General UGAKI, but OGAWA worshipped UGAKI. When they were planning the March Incident, OGAWA asked UGAKI: 'If this plan is carried out and ends up in a failure, it will be the cause of wanton confusion in the Imperial capital. If this happens, how will you accept your responsibility?' UGAKI told him: 'I will merely commit <u>hara-kiri</u> in front of the Emperor and ask his forgiveness.' OGAWA had praised the attitude taken by UGAKI. Moreover OGAWA said: 'Even in the Army, General MAZAKI and the members of the 36-Kai have begun to disagree. I still think that it is too early for UGAKI to take over.'" We talked about these things and then parted.

I left Tokyo on the night of the 8th and reached Shizuoka late that night. On the morning of the 9th, I wanted to find out about the meeting held by the

the Supreme War Council, so I telephoned General ABE. He told me: "There is no worry about the regular Army men, but the ones who are causing trouble belong to the Reservists. There are honest ones and dishonest ones, and they must be separated. Because of this, it would be better if a definite statement were issued." General ABE added: "I am leaving for Korea tonight."

On the same morning, I went to see SAIONJI and talked over the general state of affairs and made a general report to him. I told him that the circles of the Imperial Household Minister and KONOYE were saying: "We would like to have KIDO appointed as the President of the Bureau of Peerage and Heraldry. In this way, a valuable man may be left unmarred for the future", and asked his opinion on the matter. SAIONJI said: "If KIDO would also be of benefit to the Imperial Household, and if he is to become a future Imperial Household Minister, there is no alternative but to keep him from harm. As his successor, I guess MATSUDAIRA will be all right", and echoed our sentiments.

I returned to Tokyo on the night of the 9th, and the next day I met the Premier. He talked about the meeting held by the Supreme War Council and said about the same things that ABE had told me. The Premier said: "If nothing definite is settled in tomorrow's Cabinet meeting, I intend to do something. The War Minister, the Minister of Justice, the Vice-Ministers and I are going to make the preliminary arrangements today."

On the 11th, I met the Premier after the Cabinet had adjourned. He said: "The Navy Minister came up to me before the meeting and said: 'Please make the decla-

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ration; if you don't,there's no telling what may happen.' Minister OSUMI is a weakling. Furthermore, OSUMI said: 'There's no way of telling what the members of the Kasumigaseki Flying Corps will do, or when.' So I replied: 'What are you getting excited about, the only one that will be hurt is myself.' During the meeting, TAKAHASHI and several other Cabinet members said, in regard to the Army and Navy, that it was outrageous, the way the military groups were acting. They said: 'It seems that the people are totally unconcerned about things.' The War Minister had taken a weak-minded attitude and had been saying: 'Even if there is a declaration, the circumstances will not be known.' And unable to be a mere spectator, the Navy Minister questioned the War Minister: 'Some time ago, you said that if the members of the Supreme War Council got together and stated definitely that the sovereign power was the Emperor, you would help out as much as possible and separate the honest persons from the dishonest ones. Why do you now say that even if a declaration were made it would not be enough?' The members of the Cabinet were also angry, thinking that his attitude was stupid. At any rate the meeting was adjourned."

Later it was finally decided that the draft should be made, and on the 12th, 13th and 14th, various drafts were drawn up. However, because of the fact that the Army was siding with the plotters who wanted to overthrow the Cabinet, it would not agree to anything that did not fall in with its schemes. It was the intention of the Government to act so that the Army would have nothing to do with personnel affairs. The War Minister

had the same idea; however, everyone seemed worried because of the incapability of the War Minister. The Government hoped to do something about this in the Cabinet meeting on the 15th, and was considering various drafts and at the same time negotiating with the Army. The Navy had settled down, because it was generally in agreement with the Government; however, it was different with the Army, because its objectives were different. Nevertheless, the meeting of the Cabinet was postponed until the afternoon of the 15th, and it appeared that it would convene with everyone satisfied and settled down.